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Multiple Public Spheres in the Japan Times during World War II : Focusing on the Asama Maru Incident(1940)

Tomoko MATSUNAGA

Abstract: This study examines the public sphere in English-language newspapers in Japan during the Second World War. Focusing on the Japan Times, which was the biggest one, this paper shows that it was English, functioning as an international language that enabled this unique public sphere. The Japan Times was established to improve Japanese international relations. Founded in 1897 with the support of the government, businessmen and researchers, the Japan Times was the first English-language newspaper in Japan to be edited and managed by Japanese. Unlike contemporary English-language papers owned by Westerners, it presented Japanese perspectives and opinions to the Western World. It was welcomed by the Japanese at first, but subscribers didn't increase to the extent that was expected because of the small population of people who could read English in Japan at that time. Although the paper was expected to function as Japanese propaganda after the Manchurian incident in 1931, it maintained a broad readership and a mix of content and wide range of opinions, not similar to their privately owned counterparts. Closed to Japanese but open to foreigners, not only Westerners but also Asians, it presented multiple public spheres to the world. In this paper, I focus on the Asama Maru Incident (1940)-a scandal that eventually propelled Japan into World War II - to reveal how the Japan Times was a forum for open international discussion. The critical role of English in facilitating this fomentation of opinions is also examined. Finally, English media in the Asian Context is also discussed.

Keywords: Japan Times, English-language newspaper, public sphere, transnational media

1. Introduction

'Public Opinion', one of the masterpieces of media studies written by Walter Lippman (1922), begins with a unique episode during the World War I. English, French and German people lived on an island in the ocean without telegraphic service and had gotten along even after the summer of 1914. In fact, they had been enemies of each other for more six months but they had no way to know it except English newspapers distributed every two months. Through the story, Lippman explained the time lag between reality and our recognition of the world and how newspaper intervenes between the two. However, in World War II, not only English and German but also Japanese and Indian readers could discuss with each other in the readers' column of the Japan Times with the knowledge of who was an enemy and ally. Various readers discussed in the English-language newspaper during the war in Japan. How did this situation come about and what was like?

Early research on English-language newspapers in Japan focuses on the ideals of journalism (press freedom & function of criticism) and propaganda. At that time, there were three English-language newspapers in Japan: two foreign-owned newspapers, the Japan Advertiser

(1890-1941) and the Japan Chronicle (1891-1942), and the Japanese foreign Ministry (Gaimusho)'s flagship publication, the Japan Times (1897-)¹⁾. The British-owned Japan Chronicle, which had criticized the Japanese government freely and actively, has been held up as a model of journalism and whereas the Japan Times, the semi-official paper for public relations has been examined for its propaganda. Both perspectives focus on the media's producer/editors, not on readers/audience.

Recent research, however, points to the possibility that English-language newspapers could be a common forum in East Asia. According to Yonaha Jun (2010), on diplomatic negotiation about Okinawa island between Japan and China in 1875, the reports in Western-owned English-language newspapers functioned as objective reporting for negotiation; otherwise each country insisted on discussion in their own languages and failed to communicate. Moreover, Peter O'Connor (2010) also pointed out that English-language newspapers occupied a narrow but significant segment of the public sphere in East Asia in the inter-war years. As forums of opinion on Japanese, Chinese and Western interests in East Asia, they also served as vehicles of propaganda, particularly during the crisis-ridden 1930s and the Pacific War. Mainly they were distributed in Japan but a few were posted abroad. The international nature of English enabled them to have various writers and readers, and thus multiple interests appeared and mixed on the papers. So it seems that we need to look at English-language newspapers in Japan as not only national propaganda vehicles but also as transnational media from the reader's perspective.

In this study, I focus on the Asama Maru Incident(1940)--a scandal that eventually propelled Japan into World War II --to reveal how the readers' column of the Japan Times was a forum for open international discussion. German passengers were captured by British Navy on the Japanese passenger ship very near from Tokyo. Japanese vernacular newspapers criticized the attitude of Britain and the Japanese government for being so weak-kneed and then demanded the resignation of the 'pro-British' prime minister, Mr. Yonai. An anti-Briton and pro-German atmosphere occupied the domestic public sphere. The Japan Times, however, there were not only Japanese but also British and German perspectives. It was like a sanctuary for free writing at war time.

Of course, the Japan Times was a propaganda newspaper of the Foreign Ministry of Japan. The readers' column was also edited by the editor, who was from the Ministry. But thanks to the international readers, a transnational element flourished in the paper. I would like to show the reports of the Japan Times about the Asama Maru Incident (1940.1.21.) compared with the other English-language and vernacular papers in Japan in order to examine the multiple public sphere of the Japan Times.

2. Background--The history of English-language newspapers in modern Japan

2.1. Foreign-language newspapers in modern Japan

Modern Japan, which succeeded in establishing a national language, is often said to be a good example of building the 'Imagined Communities' (Anderson, 1992), of print capitalism. Because of high literacy and modernization, Japanese newspapers developed as mass media until the early 20th century and worked to build Japanese nationalism. They had great circulation. Originally however,

the Japanese had learned what newspapers were from English-language newspapers issued by Westerners in the Foreign settlement period (1860-1900)²⁾. The Nagasaki Shipping List and Advertiser, issued in Nagasaki 1861 by a British man, A.W. Hansard, was the first issued newspaper in Japan. As Nagasaki was one of the international ports in Japan, the paper was sold in Shanghai and Singapore by sea³⁾.

In the foreign settlement period, many Western-language newspapers were published especially in Yokohama, Kobe and Nagasaki. These newspapers, which represented the interests of foreign residents, were the main resource on Japan studies for the Western world. This is why the Japanese government badly needed to have their own English-language paper for public relations. In 1897, after the Sino-Japanese War, the Japan Times was established with the support of the government, businessmen and researchers as the first English-language newspaper in Japan to be edited and managed by Japanese. Unlike contemporary English-language papers owned by Westerners, it presented Japanese perspectives and opinions to the Western World. It was welcomed by the Japanese at first, but subscribers didn't increase to the extent that was expected because of the small population of people who could read English in Japan at that time.

After the abolition of foreign settlement in 1900, only two foreign-owned papers (the American Japan Advertiser and the British Japan Chronicle) and the Japan Times survived until the 1940s.

2.2. Small but internationally various readership

Who read the English-language newspapers of East Asia? Obviously, their first audience was the settler communities that first gave rise to them in the treaty ports in the Meiji era. There were others: readers who bought them as exercises in language learning or in the hope of discovering news and opinions that they might not find in the vernacular press. According to the advertisers of the Japan Times at that time, the readership was composed of foreign residents, Japanese students and business persons who needed to learn and use English practically in their lives. The fact that its price was about two times that of Japanese domestic papers implies that the papers had higher class readers--Japanese elites and foreign residents in Japan. The population of foreign residents in Japan was as follows:

Year	Nationality/ Population
1925	China 12843, U.S.1669, U.K.1449, Germany711, Russia566, France382, India197
1938	China 14807, U.S.2215, U.K.2152, Germany1842, India974, France512
1941	U.S.1044, U.K. 690, Germany2607

【Table 1: The population of foreign residents in Japan(presented by Home Ministry)】

Paper	Circulation:1925
Japan Times	6300
Japan Chronicle	3000
Japan Advertiser	10000
Osaka Mainichi	26000
Tokyo Nichi-nichi	200000

【Table 2: The circulation of the papers(Wildes 1927:374)】⁴⁾

Compared with vernacular papers, English-language newspapers had small readership. In addition, there was stiff competition between the Japan Times, the Japan Advertiser and the Japan Chronicle, but the semi-official nature of the Japan Times, as with the other organs in the Foreign Ministry network, granted it subsidies through official subscriptions that the foreign-owned English-language newspapers could not receive.

According to O'Connor (2010), the English-language press of East Asia owed much of its influence to the fact that, as far as Japan and China were concerned, the Western English-language newspapers were represented by illiterates⁵⁾. Unable to read vernacular newspapers and seldom able to consult the man in the street, most correspondents took their information from the Gaimusho Johobu press conferences (1921-1940) and balanced it with what they read in the local English-language newspapers. For journalists (both Japanese and foreign), diplomats, visiting businessmen and missionaries, the independent English-language newspapers were required reading, and for many among the educated elite of Asia, including a growing number of Japanese, reading them was a matter of preference. Their readers' professional requirements and personal preferences gave the independent English-language press of East Asia a considerable influence on the world's idea of Japan in general, and of her intentions and activities in China in particular. Without really considering whether it was transferable, the Gaimusho network coveted this influence. It meant that the Japan Times had small readership but had a great influence on foreign people who had English literacy.

2.3. An ideal of journalism or propaganda

Kakegawa, an early researcher on English papers in Japan, had high praise for the Japan Chronicle:

‘The Chronicle was a well-organized newspaper. Its pages were well balanced in their make-up of news, commentary, advertisements and other matter, with the length of articles directly proportional to the importance of their subjects. The content of the news or the commentary dealt with the subjects at hand at the level of the community, the nation or the international community as appropriate in each case, and each area was covered in a comprehensive manner. As such, the paper combined the functions of a community newspaper, a national newspaper and an international newspaper.’ (Kakegawa 2001: 29)

Like Ito(1956:130) also expressed the paper as ‘Japan’s Manchester Guardian’, the Japan Chronicle was like a window to show outside worlds for Japanese society. The paper offered

Japanese elites opinions which they could not get from vernacular papers. That is why Kakegawa criticized the Japan Times as a propaganda paper from the normative journalism studies saying that 'there is nothing but official documents in the Japan Times.' (Kakegawa 1972:275). Kakegawa blamed the propaganda paper, for the Japan Times had purchased this quality paper in 1941.

Actually after the Manchurian incident in 1931, the Japan Times was expected to function as Japanese propaganda. The relationship with the Foreign Ministry became stronger and stronger. Moreover, 'by the mid-1930s, the Japan Times had become something of the showcase for Japan-German amity, running pictorial features on Axis events in Europe, advertising and reviewing German films and granting the pronouncements of leading Nazis officials the same typological and editorial prominence as those of home-grown bigwigs.' (O'Connor, 2010:234)

Did it mean that the paper completely became a mouthpiece of the Foreign Ministry? This semi-official paper must have received much pressure from other powers: the Foreign Ministry, the Japanese Army and the Nazis. Even within the Foreign Ministry, there were differences of opinion. In addition, readers and writers engaged with networks which O'Connor (2010) explains as follows:

'A press network is a group of independent media institutions linked by common, more or less binding, interests. A press network can be linked by concrete commercial, political or national interests, or by less specific but, in times of crisis, just as binding factors such as outlook, prejudice or even fear: all that is necessary is that there elements be held in common by all the members of the network. These interests and outlooks need not be pursued with a common zeal or held with the same degrees of significance for each member and appear more or less significant to different members at different times, but they should be held in common to the extent that they distinguish one network from another.' (O'Connor 2010:11-12)

O'Connor concludes that this is the transnational approach. It adds complex new dimensions to the links that seemed to bind the English-language press networks of East Asia. Adopting a transnational approach meant enmeshing the English-language press networks in new pluralities and complex interactions: between Western settlers in East Asia and the 'native' Chinese, Japanese and Koreans living there, and between a variety of other settlers whose interests often transcended their origins of identity as Asian Americans, Jews, Parsees, Indians, Eurasians, diasporic Chinese, White Russians, Irish, Scots, Welsh and other groups. This approach appears valid when the Japan Times is examined from the readers' perspective.

I would like to examine the Asama Maru Incident (1940) from a transnational approach in next section. In this transnational media, the Japan Times, whose perspectives were there? Had the Japan Times become something of a 'showcase for Japanese-German amity'?

3. Asama Maru Incident (1940)

On the 21th of January in 1940, at 12:50 p.m., a British warship ordered the Japanese vessel 'Asama Maru', which was on her return voyage to Yokohama from Honolulu, to halt at a point thirty-five nautical miles off Nojimasaki Point, Chiba Prefecture. Then the British warship sent an officer and several seamen to the 'Asama Maru', and, claiming that it was acting in accordance

they calmed down gradually. In Japanese history, the Asama Maru Incident was a turning point for Japan in the war as it strongly provoked anti-Briton and pro-Nazis political sentiment. The general public supported the tripartite Pact between Japan, Germany and Italy in September of 1940 and Japan followed the path that led to World War II⁷⁾. This incident is a good example for looking at the Japan Times' transnational sphere as several nations' interests came in to conflict over the Asama Maru.

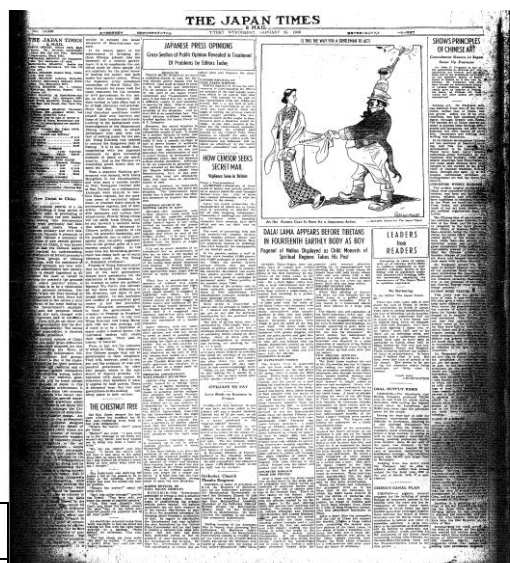
At first, I examined the editorials, the Japanese Press translation column 'Japanese Press Opinions' and the readers' column, 'Leaders from Readers' in the Japan Times from 23 January (incident occurred) to 1 March (nine Germans were returned). Then, I also looked at the editorials and readers' columns of the Japan Chronicle and the Japan Advertiser.

[Figure3] 『Japan Times and Mail』
(January 25, 1940)

Left: Editorial

Middle: Introducing the Japanese
major newspaper's opinion by
Translation

Right: Readers' column



The findings were as follows:

date[1940]	Japan Times (Leaders from Readers) [Japanese Press Opinion]	Japan Advertiser [Japanese Press Comments]	Japan Chronicle
21-Jan			
22-Jan			
23-Jan	The Asama Boarding		The Asama Maru 'VISIT'
24-Jan	Asama Sidelights [Asahi][Hochi][Yomiuri]	[Hochi][Yomiuri] [Kokumin][Asahi]	The Asama Maru
25-Jan	[Miyako][Hochi]	[Hochi][Miyako]	
26-Jan	(Asama Points/Inquirer)		
27-Jan	(Justifiable Means/Lewis W. Bush) [Yomiuri]	[Hochi]	(The Asama Maru Incident/ Ex-HongKong)
28-Jan	Asama Case Lessons (Neutral ship seizure/Student)		
30-Jan	[Nichi-nichi]		
31-Jan	British Reply (Political Prejudice/Citizen of the World) [Hochi][Kokumin]	[Hochi][Kokumin]	
1-Feb	[Miyako]		
2-Feb	(Unfriendly Acts/Amity)		
3-Feb			
4-Feb	[Nichi-nichi][Hochi]	[Hochi]	
5-Feb			
6-Feb	(Form of Living at Stake/Lewis Bush)		
7-Feb		The Asama Maru	(The Terukuni Maru/Matsukaze)
8-Feb	Realism Applied (Difficult Case/Lieutenant of the Imperial Japanese Army) [Hochi][Kokumin][Asahi]		The Asama Maru Case
9-Feb		(German Stop Neutral Ship/Fact Finder)	
15-Feb	(Duty to His Own/Lewis Bush)		
16-Feb	(Shipping Losses/Lewis Bush) (International System/Citizen Of the World)		
1-Mar			
2-Mar	(On Sea Power/C. Bush) [Hochi]	[Hochi]	[Hochi]

【Table3: The title of editorials, translated columns and readers' columns about the Asama Maru Incident in the Japan Times, the Japan Advertiser and the Japan Chronicle】

3.1. Editorial

There were five editorials about the incident from 23 January to 8 February, and the opinions represented the Foreign Ministry. They used ‘we’ as the Foreign Ministry, and demanded a British apology but the called for restraint among those expressing anti-British sentiments. The editor of the *Japan Times* had just changed from Ashida Hitoshi (1887-1959) to Go Toshi (1888-?) a week before the Asama Maru Incident, becoming the editor as a representative of the Foreign Ministry. His appointment was significant as he was more pro-German than his predecessor.

In case of the *Japan Chronicle*, the three articles were written from the British perspective and they stated that the British Navy acted legitimately. In the *Japan Advertiser*, in turn, there was an editorial from the American perspective which was neutral between Japan and Britain.

3.2. Japanese Press Opinions

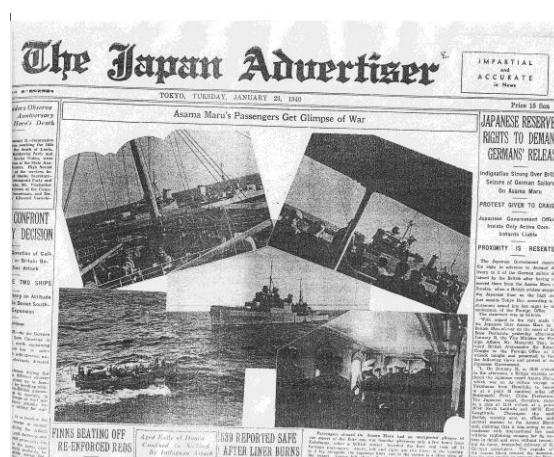
This column in the *Japan Times* represented Japanese public sentiment. They even introduced strong criticisms of the Japanese and British governments such as ‘Still asks for more in the Asama Case’ of *Hochi shinbun* (1940.3.2.). The *Japan Advertiser* also had this kind of column and there was little difference from that of the *Japan Times*.

3.3. Leaders from Readers

The *Japan Times* had a readers’ column from the 1920s. In January of 1940, the name of the column changed from ‘The Forum’ to ‘Leaders from Readers’. This column was laid out beside the editorial and published almost every day. The column continued as ‘Readers Council’ from December of 1940 to December of 1942. They explained the concept as follow:

Excepting in cases of anonymity or of extreme views likely to embitter neighborly or community relations, letters to the Editor will be published under this department heading, without necessarily signifying the concurrence in the Japan Times in opinions expressive. (1940.1.18. *Japan Times*)

The topic, opinion and nationality of contributors were various. Of thirteen comments, eight were written supporting the British perspective. A British man, Lewis. W. Bush, who was a professor of English literature in Yamagata College and known as a translator of Hino Ahihei(1907-1960)at the time, argued for British legitimacy and Briton-Japanese friendship rationally and sometimes emotionally. ‘Lieutenant of the Imperial Japanese Army’ and German ‘Citizen of the world’ refuted Bush’s comments. Other Germans, Britons, and Japanese got in to the



[Figure4]“Asama Maru’s Passengers Get Glimpse of War”

『The Japan Advertiser』 (January 23, 1940)

arguments at times. There was even the comment by Bush's father from London. Transcending borders, Japanese, Britons and Germans discussed in a Japanese propaganda paper in English. This column was a forum for 'free' speech closed to the masses of Japan.

Two foreign-owned English-language newspapers had also readers' columns but the number of comments and variety of their contents were less than in the *Japan Times*. Comments in the *Japan Advertiser* criticized the Japanese people for behaving too emotionally and those in the *Japan Chronicle* pointed out the crafty strategy of the Germans. The attitudes in each paper were almost unanimous.

Through the examination above, we can see that there were three layers in the *Japan Times*: the Foreign Ministry, Japanese public opinion (popular sentiment to be exact), and foreign readers (Westerners mainly). Contrary to early research, which said that there was nothing but propaganda in the *Japan Times*, it's clear that the Japan Times presented multiple public spheres to the world, completely different from the Japanese national public sphere occupied by anti-Briton sentiments.

4. After Asama Maru –From British gentlemen to Indian patriots

During the Asama Maru Incident, Britons such as Lewis W. Bush were major contributors in the readers' column in the *Japan Times*. However, as the articles from British contributors were decreasing, those of Indian were increasing. In August 1940, an article written by the British Embassy criticized anti-British articles written by Indians. They stated, 'the traditional loyalty to the British Crown of the Indian Army and the classes from which it is recruited is, if ever, stronger than ever.' (The *Japan Times*: September 18, 1940) Indian contributors argued back. In June 1941, when letters about a quarrel within the Indian community in Tokyo poured in, the editor refused to take more of such letters. In August 1941, fifty percent of comments were from Indians. It was an unbelievable situation under British censorship. The voice of Indians was sent to their countrymen, and to readers around the world in what was supposed to be a Japanese propaganda newspaper in English.

The reported day	Title	Name of the contributors	Nationality	The writtand day
January 15, 1940	Boy Scout Message	The Finnish Legation	Finland	Tokyo, January 13
January 17, 1940	Is There a Shortage?	Well Fed	Foreigner	
January 18, 1940	Constructiveness	Neutral	?	
January 19, 1940	Hungary and Balkans	Legation Royale de Hongrie	Hungary	Tokyo, 17th January
January 20, 1940	Australian News	Longfield Lord Australian Government Commissioner	Australia	
January 20, 1940	Richly Poetical	Listener	Foreigner (missionary)	
January 21, 1940	Verses and Washington	A Thinking Observer	Foreigner	Tokyo, January 18
January 21, 1940	Would Deflect Opinions	Individualist	?	
January 24, 1940	Weather Forecasts	Sceptical	?	
January 24, 1940	Work for the Country	Ichisaburo Matsumoto	Japan	Tochihi, 21th Jan.
January 25, 1940	No Rationing	Unrestricted	Foreigner	
January 26, 1940	Asama Points	Inquirer	Foreigner	
January 26, 1940	Bus Protest	Quietus	Foreigner	
January 27, 1940	Justifable Means	Lewis W. Bush	Britain	
January 27, 1940	Wants Fast Mail	P.O.	Foreigner	
January 28, 1940	Neutral Ship Seizure	Student	Japan?	
January 28, 1940	More from Masters	Sedulus [etc]	?	
January 31, 1940	Political Prejudice	Citizen of the World	Germany	
February 1, 1940	Pact Denied	Mahmoud Bahadori Iranian Charge d'Affairs Legation Imperiale de Iran	Iran	Tokyo, January 30
February 2, 1940	Unfriendly Acts	Amity	Britain	
February 3, 1940	Universal Fraternity	W.H.	Foreigner	Omori, February 1
February 3, 1940	Sumo and Boxing	Ichisaburo Matsumoto	Japan	February 1.
February 6, 1940	Form of Living at Stake	Lewis Bush	Britain	
February 6, 1940	Why Lion Roars	Sudeten	Germany	
February 7, 1940	Girls From Home	Ruth	Foreigner	February 6.
February 7, 1940	Health Regulations	A Deeply Concerned Parent	Foreigner	
February 7, 1940	Traffic Danger	One Who is Interested	Foreigner	
February 8, 1940	Facts on Poland	Sympathizer		
February 8, 1940	Difficult Case	Lieutenant Of the Imperial Japanese Army	Japan	
February 8, 1940	Living Room	Colonist	?	Yokohama February 7.
February 9, 1940	Nazi War Aims	Student of the War	Japan	
February 9, 1940	Wrong Motor	Engineer	Foreigner	
February 9, 1940	Delays Irritating	Commuter	Foreigner	
February 11, 1940	Field-Marshal, Baron Mannerheim	Legation de Finlande	Finland	Tokyo, February 8
February 11, 1940	Shipping Losses	Critical	Germany	February 9, 1940
February 13, 1940	Canadian Election	Old Bluesose	Canada	
February 13, 1940	Thrill and Eyesight	Health Advocate	Foreigner	
February 14, 1940	Atrocities Reports	Critical	?	Tokyo, February 11.
February 14, 1940	Follish Allies	Bligewater	Germany	
February 15, 1940	Stamp Shortage	A Philatelist	?	
February 15, 1940	German Propaganda	Fairness	Britain	
February 15, 1940	Duty to His Own	Lewis Bush	Britain	

【Table4: Leaders from Readers 『Japan Times and Mail.』 (From January 15. to February 15. in 1940)】

the reported date	Title	Name of the contributors	Profile or nationality	The written date
August 2, 1941	Briton Protests	BRITON	Britain	Tokyo, July 30, 1941
August 2, 1941	British Imperialism	A.M.SAHAY	India	Tokyo, August 1, 1941
August 3, 1941	Poser For Briton	A.M.SAHAY	Indian National Association of Japan	Tokyo, August 2, 1941
August 3, 1941	British Propaganda	W.B.	India	Tokyo, August 2, 1941
August 4, 1941	Indians Know	A.M.SAHAY	India	Tokyo, August 3, 1941
August 4, 1941	Dolls Wanted	Mary E. Lewis	Founder and President National Doll and Toy Collectors Club, U.S.	798 Ocean Purkway Brooklyn N.Y. July 4, 1941
August 6, 1941	Answer to 'Briton'	OBSERVER	India?	Tokyo, August 2, 1941
August 6, 1941	Real Promise Wanted	D.S. Deshpande	India Independence League of Japan	Tokyo, August 4, 1941
August 7, 1941	Information Please!	A Designated Foreigner	Foreigner	Chigasaki, August 3, 1941
August 9, 1941	Defense Council Examined	D.S. Deshpande	India Independence League of Japan	Tokyo, August 7, 1941
August 9, 1941	Dominion Status	D.N. Das	India	Kobe, August 7, 1941
August 10, 1941	4 Years of U.S. Antagonism	L.K. Kentwell	Editor of 'Voive of New China', Foreigner	Nanking, July 31, 1941
August 20, 1941	Freezing?	British-Born	British	Tokyo, August 15, 1941
August 21, 1941	Naviceris	A.H. Ballantyn	Acting British Consul	Tokyo, August 20, 1941
August 22, 1941	Aliens in Mexico	Jose Luis Amezcua	The Mexican Minister	Tokio, August 21, 1941
August 24, 1941	Anglo-U.S. Bulldoze	L.K. Kentwell	Editor of 'Voive of New China', Foreigner	Nanking, August 10, 1941
August 26, 1941	Indians Grateful	V. Chockalingam	Secretary India Society of Japan	Tokyo, August 25, 1941
August 27, 1941	Postal Delays	Edward Gauntlett	Foreigner	Tokyo, August 25, 1941
August 28, 1941	Regarding Naviceris	A.H. Ballantyn	Acting British Consul	Tokyo, August 27, 1941

【Table 5: 'Leaders from Readers' (August 1940)】

By the autumn of 1941, the Japanese government was in firm control of most English-language and Japanese media. The *Japan Times* under the control of the *Johokyoku* (Imperial information bureau since 1940), purchased and owned two foreign-owned English language newspapers until 1941. From that time, Indian nationalism merged with Japanese imperialism and appeared in the *Japan Times*. Rash Behari Bose (1897-1945) published his column 'The Voice of India' seventeen times serially in the *Japan Times* from June to July in 1941. Editorials in the *Japan Times* became more and more nationalistic as follows:

Independence for India (the *Japan Times*: June 17, 1942)

'Attempts have been made and still are being made by Anglo-Saxon schemers to poison the Indian mind against Japan by attributing ambitious designs to this country, but all Indians ought to be proof against such artful maneuvering in the light of the clear assurances so frequently given by responsible Japanese statesmen. Japan is absolutely innocent of sinister designs; her sole desire is to help India attain independence so that she may take her proper place within the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. We earnestly hope that the 350,000,000 Indians will rise in perfect unity at the present unique opportunity and work more energetically and positively than hitherto for the expulsion of British influence from their country.'

MATSUNAGA: Multiple Public Spheres in the Japan Times during World War II



[Figure5] The column of R.B. Bose 'The voice of India' (July.6.1942.) and anti-British cartoons

In the autumn of 1942, after the U.S.-Japan war had broken out, there were just three articles a month in the readers' column and all of them were written under Japanese name. An article from a Japanese person saying 'save the Peruvian people from Anglo-American evil!' was the last one in wartime. At the end of 1942, this column was canceled.

5. Conclusion

Closed to Japanese but open to foreigners, not only Westerners but also Asians, English-language newspapers in Japan were able to be multiple public spheres to the world. The Japan Times was a conglomeration of international interests despite being a propaganda paper. Contrary to early research, this study reveals that when readers' comments are taken into account, the Japan Times was able to achieve the level of transnational media.

However, it is too naïve to conclude that this public sphere was a sanctuary for free speech.

Instead, it is likely that this 'sanctuary' was a strategic outlet for opinions of foreign residents. Furthermore, the definition of the transnational public sphere should be clearer. A public sphere is conceived as a vehicle for marshaling public as a political force⁸⁾. In English-language newspapers in Japan, there was a public sphere in the first place? In order to better understand transnational media, we have to consider how it came about. More studies are needed. First, we have to research the production process from writing to distribution. Who was engaged in this process and where were the papers printed? It is not easy to discover in historical documents, but it is possible in approaching Indian and British documents. Second, we need to examine editorial policy. It means that we have to understand the power politics around this propaganda newspaper, as the structure of power would determine its policy. Which articles were adopted and which were not? For example, letters from Koreans and Chinese were rarely seen in the Japan Times. Finally, we have to assess the Japan Times' influence, which may be possible by checking citations in foreign diplomatic documents and newspapers.

For the future, I hope to apply this understanding of transnational media to examine how English functions within the Asian world in this internet society.

Notes

- 1) The *Japan Times* often changed its title: *Japan Times* March 1897-April 1918; *Japan Times & Mail* to October 1940; *Japan Times & Advertiser* to January 1943; *Nippon Times* to July 1956; *Japan Times* to the present. For simply, I use only Japan Times. In addition, there was one more English-language paper, *The Mainichi*(1922-2001), the translation version of the *Osaka Mainichi Shinbun*.
- 2) Refer to Ebihara Hachiro(1934).
- 3) Hasegawa(1963)
- 4) Wildes(1927:374)
- 5) 'Very few foreigners learned Japanese between the wars. At the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London University, from 1918 to 1923 the average annual intake of students of Japanese was twenty-seven, and from 1923 to 1941 only eleven. In 1935 in Australia, a survey found only seven people familiar with Japanese: one academic and six persons 'able to read and write imperfectly'. Right after Pearl Harbor, Donald Keene heard a radio broadcast to the effect that only fifty Americans knew Japanese. Not one of the ten Anglophone foreign correspondents in Tokyo in 1941 could read Japanese. Some resident English-language journalists spoke Japanese well, but only one or two learned to read it. Journalists with any competence in Chinese were just as rare.' (O'Connor 2001:70-71)
- 6) I examined the editorials of five major vernacular papers: 'Tokyo Asahi shinbun', 'Tokyo Nichi-nishi Shinbun', 'Yomiuri Shinbun', 'Miyako Shinbun', 'Hochi Shinbun', 'Kokumin Shinbun'. The circulation of 'Asahi' and 'Nichi-nichi' surpassed three million each.
- 7) Nomura, Minoru.(1972). Asama Maru jiken to Nihon kaigun[Asama Maru Incident and Japanese Navy], *Gunji shigaku*[Historical study of military affairs], 8(1), Gunji jigaku kai.
- 8) Fraser 2007:7

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